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Russian Finds Setbacks for the Nixon Administration

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

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MOSCOW—Georgi A. Arbatov, the head of the Soviet Union's research institute on the United States, says in an article published today that the Nixon Administration has failed to solve pressing domestic and foreign problems facing the country.

His analysis of the Administration's first 18 months in office was printed in "S.Sh.A." ("U.S.A."), the journal of the institute. It is written in straightforward style without the usual ideological embellishing.

Mr. Arbatov, who is currently in the United States at the Pugwash conference at Fontana, Wis., makes it clear that he is not an admirer of Mr. Nixon and he quotes approvingly from American comment critical of the President.

Cambodia Termed Setback

Mr. Nixon chalked up some successes in his first year in office, Mr. Arbatov says, but these were largely wiped out by the decision to intervene in Cambodia in May.

At the time the decision to send American forces into Cambodia was made, Mr. Arbatov was in the United States, and it appears that the Cambodia action colors his view of Mr. Nixon's record.

The intervention may secure some tactical successes for Mr. Nixon, Mr. Arbatov says, but it will be "paid for at the price of significant strategic costs."

"And not in some distant future, but in the next two years, at the next Presidential elections," he said.

This is because Mr. Nixon can no longer contend that it is "Johnson's war," Mr. Arbatov says. "After Cambodia, the war in Indochina has become in the eyes of many Americans a war in which the current President also bears political responsibility."

Surveying the mood of American opinion, Mr. Arbatov says that many Americans are disappointed by the fact that "not one of the cardinal internal and foreign policy problems before the country has begun to be truly solved."

He says Mr. Nixon came to power on a promise to unite the country, but in recent months "the split has become even more deep" in the nation.

"Terrorist reprisals against activists of the Negro movement (the campaign against the Black Panthers, the shooting in Jackson, and a series of other acts) could only antagonize the Negro population even more," he says.

"The aggression in Cambodia, the killing of four Kent University students, the campaign of persecuting dissenters in the reactionary press and the continual abuse of critics of the Government's policy by high officials—all this has even more sharpened the problem of alienation among the intelligentsia and youth, especially students," he says.

"Never before has American youth been so disappointed not only with the Government and its policy but with those social institutions that make such a policy possible," he says. "A skeptical attitude toward the policy of official Washington

has grown within a significant sector of the intelligentsia."

Noting the economic problems in the country, Mr. Arbatov says that many prominent businessmen have become disillusioned with Mr. Nixon.

He says that most businessmen are opposed to the war in Indochina, and that it is wrong to suppose—as many Soviet propagandists have—that the concerns constituting the "military-industrial complex" are all-powerful.

"It is necessary to remember that of the 500 biggest corporations in the United States, according to the Dow-Jones scale, only about 50 are directly connected with defense business," he says.

Mr. Arbatov's Institute of the U.S.A., which is associated with the Academy of Sciences, has a staff of about 160, including secretarial help. Its work, both published and unpublished, is believed to carry weight in Soviet decision-making.